574 the pass immediately relayed the news outside the pass. Within a short time Ta-i came to greet us with a group of more than ten white Lolo slaves in an impressive procession. He brought [931] with him two roosters as a present for a feast and told the interpreter to give us his humble regards. I was surprised that the same Ta-i who had been described to me by the Han-Chinese of Lei-po as fierce and cruel should turn out to be so subdued and polite in our presence. It is obvious that people act differently under different circumstances. No matter whether one is a Lolo or a Han-Chinese, he acts kindly or unkindly depending upon whether he considers the other [21] a friend or enemy.

614 622 554 564 Leadership in the clan village is secured through personal ability, but it also depends upon the amount of support one gets from members of the clan. Generally there are only very few black Lolo in the village, the white Lolo being the majority. The relationship between the two groups will be discussed in Chapter 7, "Class." It suffices to state here that the black Lolo constitute the ruling class and the white Lolo the subject class, and that the class distinction which comes from birth should not be confused or neglected. In Lolo society, [567] a black Lolo considers as slaves not only the white Lolo in his clan, but also those outside the clan. Similarly, a white Lolo, besides serving his own black Lolo master, has to serve any other black Lolo. On the other hand, as white Lolo families far outnumber black Lolo families, even though they recognize all black Lolo as masters, they have considerable influence in the determination of black Lolo leadership. Because of their number, their opinion becomes public opinion.

159 614 622 [597] In the region beyond Wu-chio about some 15 li west of Lei-po is located the village of the Sinicized Hu clan. When Hu Hsing-min was young, his granduncle [father's father's younger brother; see footnote, p. 25] had no children, and so his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family adopted her elder sister's son, A-cho T'ieh-mu, and brought him up in the family. After the death of the granduncle, the grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family intended to make T'ieh-mu an heir to take charge of the Hu village and to manage family properties. T'ieh-mu was quite smart and capable, but the white Lolo refused to obey him; following the Lolo custom, they all rose to support Hsing-min as their leader and succeeded in driving T'ieh-mu out of the village. When Kuo Shun-chih of the Lei-po county was in charge of the government military training camp, Hu Hsing-min enlisted and became thoroughly Sinicized. He was friendly toward the Han-Chinese and contributed a great deal in the

159 622 537 177

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[39]

CHAPTER 4

THE FAMILY

361 As a basic unit of the Lolo clan, the family is the most closely related kin group. In a clan village, the number of families varies from about 10 to 50, each occupying a dwelling. The houses are scattered on a level plain or slope; together they constitute a village community.

594 The members of a family include husband, wife, and all unmarried children. After the children grow up and marry, they form a new family unit and live in a separate house. So the Lolo observe what is commonly called the small family system. As the household slaves (wa-tzu) are not included in the kin group, there is also a master-slave relationship within each household. The Lolo consider slaves as chattels; nevertheless the slaves are human beings, not immovables, and their behavior is related to group life. In Chapter 7, "Classes," the position of the slaves will be discussed in detail. It suffices to treat here the relationship between master and slaves within the household.

342 The behavior of family members and their interrelationships are based on material aspects. First, we shall describe their dwelling, which is the center of family life. The construction of a Lolo house is adapted to the natural environment. Because of strong winds and heavy snow around Taliang Shan, all the houses are small and low, encircled by a square wall with one or two doors in the front or in left and right walls. For instance, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha's house in Pa-p'u village has only a wooden gate on the front half of the right wall, just a short distance from the corner of the fortified front wall. When we entered the door of Yo-ha's house, we first saw an open level court; on its left or on the opposite side of the main gate was a fenced-in wooden enclosure, inhabited by fowls and cattle. At the front of the animal pen was tied a ferocious Pekingese dog, which barked madly at strangers and would probably have bitten them too if it had not been fastened to an iron chain. The households of Liang Shan had at least one dog each for protection against enemies. Every time our inspection team passed a village, the dogs would chase and bark at us. Fortunately our Lolo headmen-protectors

241 not common and only wealthy families can afford to keep a
233 herd of cattle or sheep. The general belief that the Lolo are a nomadic tribe is erroneous.

Agriculture and grazing will be discussed more fully
●567 in Chapter 6, "Economic Life." Here mention will be made only of family labor connected with these occupations. In a
[356] Lolo family, all housework is done by slaves under the supervision of the black Lolo master. Every black Lolo family has several household slaves called kuo-chuang wa-tzu [lit., "stove slaves"], who are white Lolo or Han-Chinese. These slaves
[592] live in the master's house, do housework for him, and are indebted to him for all their food and clothing. They own no property, but are themselves considered a part of their master's property. He can sell them whenever he pleases. The white Lolo who are not household slaves have their own dwelling places, land, cattle, and other property. Sometimes they also have Han-Chinese as slaves to work for them. On the other hand, they have to take orders from their black Lolo masters and perform duties for them. The white Lolo are never completely freed from the slave status.

512 In a Lolo household, both master and slaves rise early
[515] in the morning. They wipe their eyes clean with their hands, but do not wash their faces. The male slaves who tend cattle and sheep lead them up the mountain to graze, while those who farm take their tools to the field to plow or weed. Farming
[241 is a joint effort of husband and wife, who often work together
462] shoulder to shoulder in the field. In sowing, plowing, or harvesting, [43] men and women both participate. The herders usually take corn cakes made the night before to eat on the mountain. The farm workers generally return to the house for breakfast at about 10 o'clock, after which they do not go out to work again. Sometimes they stay home in the morning and go
241 to the field after breakfast. The Lolo do not engage in intensive farming. Though uncultivated lands lie everywhere in Liang Shan, the Lolo are not interested in developing them for cultivation. They are satisfied with having just enough food for family consumption.

[264] They have two meals, one in the morning and the other
252 in the evening, but no regular mealtime. The preparation of food is the duty of female household slaves. Dried corn or buckwheat, doled out to them from storage by the mistress of the house, is first ground into flour on the grindstone. After the stove is lighted, the flour is poured into an iron caldron, mixed with water and boiled, and then taken out and put into a round, flat-bottomed basket. The dough is kneaded into round

252 cakes, called corn cake or buckwheat cake. The cakes have to be steamed again in the iron pan before they can be eaten. In addition, an auxiliary dish of sour vegetable soup is served for an ordinary daily meal; sometimes boiled potatoes or bean curd mixed with a green vegetable are added for a comparatively abundant meal.

264 415 In eating, the food is first served to the black Lolo master seated on the left side or to the rear of the cooking stove. The Lolo serve corn cakes in bamboo baskets and the sour vegetable soup in small round wooden pails. In each pail is placed ma-shih-tzu, a special utensil having the same function as a spoon. The ma-shih-tzu is made of wood with a handle a foot long and an oval-shaped shallow bowl about three inches in diameter. The Lolo hold the cake in both hands while eating, 264 and as they eat, they ladle up soup with a ma-shih-tzu held in 567 the right hand and then drink from it. In a black Lolo family, husband, wife, and children all sit around the stove to eat, but they do not sit or eat together with the white Lolo slaves. This is due to the custom of separation for the two groups, a tradition too strong to be broken. Moreover, the white Lolo can only sit in front or on the right side of the stove when they eat. They are forbidden to sit at the rear side of the stove, which is reserved for honored guests, or on the left where the master sits and rests.

264 Not only are black Lolo and white Lolo separated in eating and drinking, but relatives of different sexes who have to observe the custom of avoidance do not eat together. As 574 mentioned before, the Lolo practice the small family system, but they are very solicitous and attentive in entertaining guests. When relatives come for a visit, they are always entertained with a meal, and even a Lolo stranger is invited to it. Father- 606 in-law and daughter-in-law, because of avoidance, cannot eat at the same table; this is also true of mother-in-law and son-in-law. Younger brother and elder sister-in-law can talk and 607 communicate with each other, but elder brother and younger sister-in-law must also observe avoidance. Li-ch'ü Ku-p'u, who is 28 years old, is younger than Ta-chi, but being the grandson of Ta-chi's grandfather's elder brother, he becomes, according to Lolo tradition, Ta-chi's elder brother. One day when Ku-p'u came to visit Ta-chi at his home, [44] the author observed that Ta-chi, Ku-p'u, and Ta-chi's daughter ate together, while Ta-chi's wife, nee En-cha, and her younger son ate separately from the group.

574 When our inspection team traveled in Liang Shan, we always stayed and had meals with the Lolo. The noble black

000 maternal uncle and his nephew, and the importance of matrilineal kin.

853 862 The child is breast-fed by its mother until four or five years old. In case the mother gives birth to another child during this period, breast feeding will immediately stop and the child will be given corn cake and sweet potatoes like an adult.

854 567 867 It is one of the duties of young girl slaves to take care of the child. The Lolo make no distinction in their treatment of male or female infants, but the class line between black and white is clear cut. The adults usually call a certain child "black bone," that is, black Lolo, to distinguish it from "white bone" or white Lolo. The "black bone" belongs to the noble class while the "white bone" to the slave class. Therefore, as the child grows up, it gradually perceives the difference between black and white, or noble and mean.

857 The early years are the happiest period in a Lolo's life. Every day after the meal the child is free to come and go as he pleases, and to play in a group with neighboring children. Sometimes they go to the mountains to cool themselves; other times they play in the corn fields. By this time, the black Lolo 857 child has already begun to assume leadership over the white Lolo children of his age group, who would usually take orders 567 from him. In poor white Lolo families, the children go to 868 work with the adults and learn to tend cattle or to farm by the time they are seven or eight.

857 In the period between childhood and youth, boys and girls begin to be separated by the boundaries of sex in work and play. 868 Black Lolo boys start to learn to shoot, to use a gun, and to pursue each other on horseback. Whenever clan feuds are fought, they all become excited and want to show off their skill. They form a small band of their own to attack the enemies and rob enemy property. Once their reputation for bravery becomes widespread, they will have hopes of becoming leaders in the future. On the other hand, girls' activities are centered around the house. They learn to sew and knit, to embroider, to assign work to household slaves, and in general to manage family property and affairs for their parents. As "female house managers" they have a high position in the family.

836 605 Young men and women are free to love and to have sexual relations provided they do not violate Lolo traditions, such as the interdiction on marriage within the patrilineal clan or intermarriage between black and white Lolo. Corn fields or thick grass on the mountain are suitable places for love-making, especially between cross cousins [48] because of their close kinship and the encouragement given by the family to cross-cousin

302 884 seventeen and still not married, then her parents will usually set a date to hold a ceremony for the girl to have her braid parted and doubled. During the ceremony they kill sheep, pigs, and other animals to entertain relatives and friends. It signifies that henceforth the girl has come of age and can have sexual freedom without interference.

836 Whether in a forest or thicket, whether beside the mountain stream or in wild fields, a young Lolo male and female could make love to each other. Provided that they do not violate marriage traditions, unmarried male and female could have affairs among themselves. This is especially true of cross-cousins who, because of their preferential marriage privilege and close contact due to kinship, could freely make love, and illicit affairs have always developed.

584 As a first step in marriage, the parents usually make the selection and then send a matchmaker to do the negotiating. Originally the matchmakers were mostly white Lolo slaves. If the paternal aunt or the maternal uncle has a daughter, matchmaking is fairly easy; there being mutual obligation on both sides, they dare not [56] make any commitment with another clan. After a mate has been chosen, the matchmaker [787] will get the consent of the girl's family to ask a pi-mu to match the horoscopes of the intended couple and to divine whether the marriage would be auspicious or not. If it is found to be unlucky, the matchmaker will not come back again. Sometimes, because of their kin relationship or because of the attraction of the girl's looks, the two families would disregard the result of fortune-telling or divination and proceed with the marriage anyway.

583 After both families have agreed to the marriage, the matchmaker then goes back and forth between the two to negotiate for the betrothal gift or money. The amount of cash to be paid by the man's family depends upon the family's financial ability. Generally, a black Lolo family pays a betrothal gift of from 500 to 700 or 800 ounces of silver. (At the time of the author's stay in Lei-po, one ounce of silver was equal to 160 dollars of Chinese national currency.) Sometimes the betrothal gift may be as much as 1,000 ounces. Because of their low social status, the white Lolo pay only 100 or 200 [567] ounces of silver. For the daughters of household slaves who accompany the mistress in marriage, no gift is necessary.

584 After the betrothal money is settled, then comes the engagement. First, the man's family sends the matchmaker and others of the household with gifts to the girl's family. At that time only a part of the betrothal money, usually about

585 night the men are entertained with food and wine in a big feast and gradually a state of conviviality settles on both guests and hosts.

[585] 291 On the morning of the wedding day, the bride begins to bedeck herself. She wears a fresh flower-like turban on her head. According to Lolo custom, the turban a young girl wears is folded into a pocket-like triangle, its end tied to the back of [882] the head. Upon coming of age, she wears the turban in a different way with the ends sticking up in front of the ears; sometimes she wears a four-cornered turban lying flat on the head, two of its corners hanging down on the right and left of the forehead, the other two corners on two sides in back of the head, and the whole looking like four pieces of reversed flower petals. After the woman has a child, she no longer wears this kind of headgear and has a plain hat instead. Besides the flower-like 585 turban, the bride is also decked out with earrings, neck orna- 301 ments, and silver buttons. She usually wears a new dress 291 with lace, a skirt of various colors, and a newly-made felt coat. All in all, she looks as graceful as a great beauty.

585 After having bedecked herself, the bride starts her journey. The men from the groom's family and the men and women of the bride's family all press forward to support and accompany her on the way to the groom's house, outside of which a thatched awning has previously been put up. The [307] bride is led inside the awning where the ceremony to separate her braid is conducted by the female members of the bridal party, that is, her single braid is parted and made into a double braid to signify her status as newly married. On that day the groom's family provides wine and kills animals to feast the members of the bridal party. Guests and hosts sing and dance hilariously and do not disperse until after all have thoroughly enjoyed themselves.

585 It seems that the groom does not play an important 567 role in the wedding ceremony. Nor does the bride sleep with him on the night of the wedding. At the marriage of a black Lolo, the bride must have several white Lolo maids to accompany and wait on her. For instance, the eldest daughter of Mrs. Hu, nee Li-ch'ü, of Wu-chio is only eleven years old and still her mother has already provided two maids to wait on her day and night. Later when she gets married, the maids will go with her as a part of the dowry. The maids who accompany the mistress to her husband's house will then marry the male slaves of the master. For three nights the bride stays at the groom's house in the same room with her maids but without making any contact with the groom.

[42] Lolo groups usually have many members, particularly those in
[43] neighbouring villages. The members are prohibited from marry-
[44] ing the village. Whenever they cross the border and are dis-
covered, they are usually killed on sight. Therefore, al-
though the boundary of each village is not distinctly visible,
there is always a neutral fringe area where the people of both
villages, if they happen to be neighbors, have not occupied.
This kind of boundary has a rather political significance quite
different from the family-owned land.

The black Lolo nobles compel household slaves to
[56] cultivate the land. In case the number of slaves has increased
considerably and the house is too small for them, the nobles
sends those who have served him faithfully for a long time to
build houses of their own to supervise cattle. The nobles also
[45] give each family a certain amount of land as the family pro-
[46] vider some arable land to support its needs. Generally, after
a long period of time, the slave would be freed completely
from his master's control, he would have his own land to
cultivate and his own household to manage. [47] Slaves [48]
[57] are today in the Lolo villages enjoy comparatively good
[58] households which, except that they have to accept the rule and
protection of the black Lolo and to surrender certain occupati-
bilities and duties, have a self-supporting economic life. These
white Lolo are called "subjects" [49] having no [50] who have
been liberated. Actually the "subjects" are also slaves, al-
though they have a higher social position than the household
slaves.

The Lolo have no unit for measuring land which is al-
[59] ways referred to in terms of grains or available workers and
[60] reference to the exact acreage. Therefore it is very difficult
to estimate the area of their cultivated land. It is possible,
however, to get a general idea of the acreage through the
cultivation or production figures for each piece of land. Corn,
for instance, corn, the most important agricultural product
in the Lolo area. On the acreage, a person is able to cultivate
each year from 4 sheng [a sheng is approximately 0.1 cubic
inches] to 5 sheng [a sheng is approximately 0.1 cubic inches]
[17] and his are measurements obtained from the Han peasants.
the 4-sheng cultivation area is taken as the basis of calculation,
then the harvest will be around 40 catties [one catty is 1.1 pounds]
around southern Szechuan, the acreage will [illegible] one
one-sixth of an acre [1 acre is approximately 4,047 square meters]
is equivalent to the yield of two and a half [illegible] is half
[illegible] the minimum cultivated acreage per person in the Lolo
area.

567 While farming is done by household slaves, all farm
422 products belong to the black Lolo master. This is so because even the slaves themselves are considered a part of the master's property. If there is more land than can be cultivated,
427 it can be rented out to white Lolo "subjects" who do not have
567 sufficient land of their own. The latter usually pay half of the produce as rent and keep the other half. Sometimes if the land is unusually fertile and productive, the landlord gets 60 per cent of the produce and the tenant 40 per cent. This ratio is somewhat similar to the agricultural system of the feudal
564 period in China. The black Lolo can be compared to the feudal lords, the household slaves to the serfs, and the "subjects"
567 to the tenants. Although economically self-supporting, the so-
466 called "subjects" are bound to the black Lolo by other ties and their status is not completely independent. During the busy farming season the black Lolo master could order his "subjects" to send one person from each family to help the household slaves in cultivation and harvest. The helpers are not paid by wage or otherwise recompensed. It is their obligation to work for their black Lolo master, who at most would only provide them with meals during their working period.

243 The main products of Lolo agriculture are corn and
567 buckwheat. Rice cultivation in wet fields is limited to the I-ch'ê Ho and Mei-ku Ho region and its yield is quite low. All the rice farming is done by Han-Chinese slaves as rice is not the indigenous culture of the Lolo, whose agriculture is still limited to dry land cultivation. Although its origin is not [64] known, there is no doubt that agricultural products provide the main source of food for Lolo families.

243 The routine of corn planting is a form of adaptation by the Lolo to the weather and natural environment. During late spring when the weather is warm, the Lolo start seeding. The seeds are planted on high mountain slopes in the third month of the lunar year, and on the plains in the fourth month. Before seeding, the Lolo farmers dig in the field small holes, in each of which are sown six or seven to a dozen or more seeds. These are wrapped with mud before they are worked into the soil. After seven or eight days they begin to sprout. The seedlings are examined for quality and only two are allowed to grow in each hole, the rest being pulled out. If there are less than two seedlings, the missing one will be replaced. Weeding begins a month later with both men and women working together in the field. After the weeds have been cleared, the field is fertilized with either dried cattle manure as in the Ta-liang Shan region or with fresh manure as in the Hsiao-liang

438 utensils, and the like have considerable mobility in the Lolo community. Han-Chinese slaves constitute the most important [567] commodity for transactions. Traditionally, the Lolo are not 574 interested in business dealings, but are most hospitable in entertaining guests. Even today all Lolo people, except clan enemies, can get free lodging and board anywhere in their region. The entertainment of strangers has become a custom which no host can neglect. Every year the Lolo of Hsiao-liang Shan always take a trip to Ta-liang Shan to visit fellow clan members or friends and relatives. During their travels, they can stop at any house on the way and are assured of entertainment by the host. No matter what kind of food is served, it is shared equally between host and guest, and no one is allowed to enjoy it by himself. The miser is despised by society and [577] not tolerated by tradition.

[67] The custom of entertaining guests is so common 574 that sometimes in order to meet the demands of custom the 576 host has to treat rather cordially any stranger who comes to 578 him, even though he may not like him personally. Otherwise the stranger might get angry and do something mean to him, and the incident may even lead to a clan feud. It is also a 574 common social custom for the Lolo to share his food with those 576 who are present instead of enjoying it alone. This custom, when carried to extremes, becomes compulsory and rather inconvenient to people. I still remember when the inspection team reached Ting-chia P'ing in Liang Shan, we stayed at the house of the black Lolo, Ting Yü-k'e. Our headman-protector, Ta-chi, had with him a slave who was a wine carrier, but instead of taking him to the house, Ta-chi hid him on the mountain. I asked the interpreter about this and learned that if the wine carrier should stay with the Ting family, then the wine had to be shared by all present and it would be gone before it could be transported to San-ho-i-ta.

This kind of hospitality is observed mutually according 574 to social etiquette. In the wild Liang Shan region where the 182 population is sparse and traveling difficult because of the lack of modern hotels and teahouses, the villagers entertain strangers who travel there with the expectation that someday when they themselves are on the road they will receive similar treatment from the different clan families in other villages. Therefore we know that the entertainment of strangers, like many other aspects of a primitive society, is a kind of social structure designed for adaptation to a special environment.

431 In the preceding chapter on marriage, we have men- 182 tioned that the exchange of gifts between the bride's and the

439 business of transporting the contraband silver pieces to Liang Shan. From the Lolo point of view, opium alone is enough to exchange for white silver, guns, and all the commodities of daily use.

To plant opium, the Lolo have to select a fertile field. 439 An increase in the production of opium causes a corresponding decrease in agricultural products. 464 The planting of opium reduces soil fertility and the land gradually becomes impoverished. [567] Because of the scarcity of manpower, the Lolo kidnapped Han-Chinese from the border area as slaves to engage in large-scale production of opium. There is a fixed time for the planting of opium and its harvest. During this period, they import from the border region a large Han-Chinese labor force, which they send out of the Lolo territory after the job is done. Once I met an old man of about fifty at a teahouse in Ma-liu Wan. From the conversation, I learned that during March, 1943, the old man and over 80 other Han-Chinese laborers had entered the Lolo area with armed protection by black Lolo leaders to gather the opium crop at the northern part of the Ma-ching-tzu area. Their wages were paid according to the [465] amount of opium they harvested. For every eight ounces of opium, one ounce was paid as wages. Every day the old man harvested about 20 ounces of opium and earned a wage of two and a half ounces. After harvest the opium was exported for 439 sale in the Han-Chinese territory. At that time opium was sold in the Lolo region at the rate of one piece of silver, or about 1,000 dollars in Chinese national currency, for every three ounces of opium. When it was imported into Han-Chinese territory, one ounce was worth 600 Chinese dollars and three ounces 1,800 Chinese dollars. The profit being almost double, the ruffians in the border area would risk their lives to go to the Lolo region to import opium. When the inspection team stayed at Liang Shan, many Lolo thought that we were opium merchants. This shows how popular the opium trade is between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo.

The slaves are a part of Lolo property and can be 367 traded as commodities at a market price. They are mostly 721 Han-Chinese, newly captured from the Chinese territory. It is a common practice for the Lolo to capture and kill Han-Chinese in the border area, such incidents having occurred quite frequently in the border districts of Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien, especially [69] in Lei-po. Many areas visited by the author, such as the southern part of Hsining, Man-chi K'ou on the border of Lei-po and P'ing-shan, Wu-tzu P'o between Huang-lang and Ching-k'ou, and the

567 outskirts of Lei-po city, are the chief hiding places of Lolo
721 bandit bands. Day and night, whenever they saw small groups of Han-Chinese travelers on the road, they would rush out from ambush in the thickets to attack. After having threatened and killed one or two persons, they then seized the others and their belongings. The district outside Lei-po was often
[727] attacked at night. After they had broken into the house, the Lolo would capture all the men and women there and plunder and seize their property; sometimes they also burned down the house. The soldiers and civilians inside the city, even though they had heard the noise, dared not go out to help. The
567 Han-Chinese who went to the Lolo region to trade in opium usu-
609 ally employed some black Lolo to serve as headman-protectors, but somewhere on the way the Lolo would often turn the tables and kidnap their protégés as slaves. This is called "reverse protection." Farmers who went to the border region to reclaim waste lands also sought the protection of the black Lolo; again, at times, the Lolo would rebel and seize the Han-Chinese as slaves in a large-scale kidnap attempt. The victims, sometimes numbering as many as several hundreds, were sold in the Lolo region and transported to different places.

727 According to Lolo tradition, all captured persons and
564 goods are considered the property of the captor. If the black and white Lolo band together for robbing, the black Lolo can keep everything they have taken, while the white Lolo have to share a part of the loot with the black Lolo. All the booty is either retained or sold. The captured Han-Chinese people,
567 however, are always sold and usually change hands three or four times before they are finally kept as household slaves. This is done to prevent the Han-Chinese, if they should succeed later in escaping to Chinese territory, from identifying their kidnapper, who would be in danger of seizure and punishment by the government if he ever set foot in the Chinese territory. The price of slaves depends mainly on their age,
567 irrespective of sex. The very young and the very old who are
435 too feeble to work are sold cheaply, while strong youths and adults fetch a high price of 50 to 100 ounces of silver per person. If the Han-Chinese slaves are redeemed from Lolo territory, the ransom, always slightly higher than the buying price, is usually over 100 ounces of silver.

727 The Lolo not only seize people and goods in the Han-
628 Chinese territory, but also from their clan enemies. Mem-
567 bers of enemy clans take revenge and kill each other in feuds that may last for generations. Captured black Lolo have to be killed right away because they cannot be enslaved; on the other

hand, the white Lolo can be kept as slaves or sold to others. The property of clan enemies can be seized as one's own. Therefore, to fight a clan feud is also a means by which the Lolo enriches himself through annexing another's property.

All immovable property, movable goods, and slaves are regarded as family heirlooms to be handed down from generation to generation. According to an unwritten law, the house is inherited by the youngest son because the daughters and the other sons would have established their own households after marriage, and only the youngest son who lives with the parents in the family house is entitled to inherit it. [70] Both male and female children have equal rights to all other property. In general, the lands and fields are divided among the sons since it is impractical for the daughters who are married away into another village to make use of them. Money and other belongings, such as guns, cattle, and male and female slaves, are distributed equally among the children. Usually male slaves are given to the sons and female slaves to the daughters. If the number of slaves cannot be divided evenly, one party can pay silver to purchase the rights from the other.

The distribution of family property comes after the death of the parents. It is supervised and arbitrated by clan relatives, as well as mother's brothers and father's sisters' husbands. Special portions not included in the divided property are set aside for unmarried children. When the parents make arrangements during their lifetime on how the family property should be divided, their wish is always obeyed and carried out after their death. A couple of years ago a quite wealthy white Lolo, who lived north of the village of San-ho-i-ta, passed away and was survived by two grown-up sons and one married daughter. On his sick bed, the old man, who loved his daughter the most, told her secretly of three places in each of which she could dig up a jar of silver. After his death, the sons each got a jar of silver dug up from some hiding place told them by the father. The daughter was able to unearth two jars according to the old man's directions, but she failed to find any silver in the third place. She dug again after having consulted the pi-mu, but still there was no silver. So she was obliged to tell her elder brother, who demanded an even share of the buried silver, if found, before promising to help her. The sister, however, refused to comply. From this case which was still unsettled when the inspection team left Liang Shan, we can get a general idea of property inheritance in Lolo society.

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[71] CHAPTER 7

CLASSES

564 The class system is a special feature of Lolo society
● 567 which is divided into three groups: black Lolo, white Lolo, and Han-Chinese slaves. The very strict distinction between the black and white Lolo precludes any chance of mobility between them although the white Lolo, originally Han-Chinese slaves who have lived among the Lolo for a number of years, have been accepted by the black Lolo as their own kind. The newly captured slaves from the Han-Chinese territory have the lowest social standing and are looked down upon by both the black and white Lolo. However, if the Han-Chinese slaves become completely acculturated to Lolo life after having lived in their midst for generations, they would be allowed to intermarry with the white Lolo and eventually achieve white Lolo status. Therefore the division between the white Lolo and Han-Chinese slaves is only temporary, and social mobility tends to blur the boundary between them.

564 The black Lolo, who consider themselves aristocrats,
144 are the ruling class; they are also believed to be the pure Lolo stock. According to the author's investigation, the black Lolo belong to the Mongoloid race with numerous physical traits similar to the Han-Chinese. For example, their stature,
[142] their sparse black hair and brown eyes, their facial features and cranium shape, especially their eye fold, all point to a typical Mongoloid stock. Formerly, based on random observations during their travels, Western scholars considered the Lolo to be Caucasian — an apparently erroneous assumption.
[141] Instead of being dolichocephalic, the black Lolo have a medium cephalic index. They differ from the Han-Chinese in certain physical aspects, such as dark skin, hooked nose, and big ear lobes. These merely indicate, however, that as primitive groups long isolated from the "central plains" and inhibited from exogamy, they have formed their own community and maintained their original physical traits. In other words, the
[174] black Lolo are members of an ethnic group who have invaded and occupied the present Lolo territory, captured and enslaved those in surrounding areas, and maintained to this day their ruling position.

●567 A strict distinction and an absolute lack of social equality exist between the black and white Lolo. As the owner of land and cattle, every black Lolo is a potential landlord. He regards as his chattels all kuo-chuang wa-tzu [household slaves] who till the field, tend the cattle, do daily chores, and perform other services for him. Even their very person is a part of the master's possessions, and they can be sold or transferred at his whim. An interesting incident which can serve as an example happened at the time of the author's investigation at the village of Hsi-ning. A black Lolo of the En-cha branch was [525] gambling at P'ing-pien with another black Lolo. He was a heavy loser, and after having emptied all the silver he had with him, he still owed the winner a large debt. He immediately ordered his personal attendant, a household slave, to go with the other black Lolo. The slave, who had served the En-cha black Lolo for a number of years and had grown attached to him, did not want to surrender himself to a new master. So he cried bitterly and refused to obey his master's order. The En-cha black Lolo was so infuriated at this disobedience that he chased the slave to the bank of the Hsi-ning river and while there threw a big stone at him. Fortunately, it missed. There were many eyewitnesses to this incident which demonstrates the relationship between the black and white Lolo.

Household slaves can also be transferred. At the marriage of a black Lolo girl, the maids follow the bride as a part of her dowry. In the division of family property after the parents' death, the slaves and the slaves' children are evenly distributed among the heirs, the male slaves going to the male heir and the female ones to the female heir. Sometimes when the number of slaves is not divisible, they may be purchased with silver or transfered in such a way so as to maintain the principle of equal distribution of the slaves among the heirs.

564 [73] While the black Lolo has absolute authority over
567 his household slaves with the power of life or death, to give or to take away, the white Lolo "subjects" are treated quite differently. These "subjects" have been long-time residents of the village for generations. They own their individual
[421 houses, land, and other property. In Ta-liang Shan, if a
428] white Lolo "subject" should die without a male heir or a close relative, the black master could take over his land and property. Lolo tradition, however, forbids the selling of white Lolo "subjects" who consequently have a social status higher than that of the household slaves. During a clan feud, a captured white Lolo "subject" becomes the household slave of

564 another clan. Sometimes, when a white Lolo "subject" be-
567 comes so poor that he does not have an inch of land to stand on, the black master would not help him financially but would take him in as a household slave. Therefore there is considerable mobility among the white Lolo "subjects" and the household slaves. This mobility works two ways, for not only can the "subjects" be reduced to slavery, but also the slaves can be promoted to the "subject" status if they succeed in gaining their master's confidence.

564 Even those white Lolo who have acquired a "subject" status and are economically independent have to regulate their every action according to the black master's whim and take orders from him. If they rebel or seriously offend the black Lolo, they would be beaten or even shot to death. A landowning white Lolo often seeks to increase his holdings and accumulate wealth. In this case he could lease more land from the
[427] black Lolo if his own is not enough, the rent paid varying from 40 to 60 per cent of the harvest. This relationship is similar to that between landlord and tenant. Actually, the white Lolo have many economic obligations to their master. During the
[466] busy farming season or while building a new house, the master can summon the white Lolo to work for him without any compensation except for food and drink. During a clan feud,
[628] when the master musters the adult males for the fight, all white Lolo have to join. If the feud is settled through negotiation and the master has to pay indemnity, everyone of his white Lolo "subjects" has to contribute a share in varying amounts, depending upon the financial condition of the family.
564 At the New Year, each white Lolo household would present to
431 the master one bottle of wine and one half of a pig's head as a gift. They would also offer wine and other gifts on special occasions in the master's household, such as weddings, burials, and cremations. If the master takes a daughter-in-law, the present is a pig; if the master gives a daughter away in marriage, the contribution includes, besides the wedding gift, some silver for the girl's pocket money. In the event of death and burial, they contribute oxen and sheep for the sacrifice; in a religious ceremony, they offer wine in amounts from 20 to 100 catties. In addition to these contributions, the white Lolo "subjects" have an obligation to share expenses whenever the master entertains guests, needs financial help, or faces an emergency.

564 The social position of the black and white Lolo, as well
567 as their class status, can be observed from their daily life,
554 activities, and attitudes. At home, both male and female black

564 Lolo issue orders which the white Lolo have to obey, [74]
567 whether to do chores in the house or to run errands. During
554 meals, the white Lolo have to serve their master first before serving themselves. When they eat, specific seats around the stove are assigned the master and his slaves — a convention
[513] not to be violated. The sleeping quarters of the master are on the left side of the house or the left side of the stove, while those of the white Lolo slaves are on the right side of the house beside the grindstone or toward the lower part of the stove. There is no difference in clothing except for the fact that the
[291] black Lolo mistress of the house usually wears a long skirt trailing to the ground to show her dignity. All these are social conventions that differentiate the class status of the black and white Lolo.

564 Whenever a black Lolo master or mistress leaves the
567 house, he or she is always followed by some white Lolo, either "subjects" or household slaves. If the master plans a long
554 journey, he usually takes along some of his "subjects," the
484 household slaves being too busy with work to make the trip. On the road, the black Lolo walks with his hands unencumbered or with a gun while his white Lolo followers, varying in number from one or two to four or five, hold guns or other arms for him, or carry baggage, silver goods, and salt on the
[277] shoulder. When the master wished to smoke, the slave would immediately step forward with a stone pipe that has a bamboo handle, fill it with tobacco and light it for the master. Fire
[372] is started in the conventional way by striking a piece of iron on the flint and then lighted on a thread of twisted dried grass. When the master needed a drink, the slave would take out a wooden bowl from the bag and fetch water in it for the master, no matter how far he had to walk. While on route, whether traveling or stopping, the white Lolo always follow closely behind. During the author's trip to Liang Shan this was frequently observed.

In matters of dress and ornament, such as t'ien p'u-sa,
564 earrings, cape, and wide trousers, there is little distinction
156 between the black and white Lolo. Nor are there major differences in facial expression and physical stature. However, by observing carefully their behavior and attitudes, it is possible to tell the black Lolo from the white. The former is characterized by bright eyes and a drooping mouth, as well as a haughty bearing, reckless behavior, and an unyielding spirit. In contrast to this carriage, the white Lolo are always humble and ready to receive orders; they serve their master carefully; and although quite rude and imperious in dealing with

564 156 outsiders, they are always meek and obedient in front of the black Lolo, no matter to which branch or clan the latter may belong. This attitude, of course, is only generally true. As exceptions, there are also weak individuals among the black Lolo and strong ones among the white.

564 567 As a whole, the relationship between the black and white Lolo is that between members of the upper and lower classes. Economically, it is the master-slave relationship; socially, it is the superior-inferior relationship; politically, it is the ruler-subject relationship. Actually, the black master is neither severe nor cruel in ruling his slaves. Notwithstanding the difference in class and social status, they enjoy equal material welfare. If a black Lolo visits a white Lolo, [75] the [571] latter would treat him as the guest of honor and entertain him with all hospitality. In the case of a white Lolo visiting the black, he too will be provided with food and lodging so as not to starve or freeze. Ordinarily, all the food in the black Lolo [562] household is shared equally by its members. If the master has some fresh and new food, he shares it with his slaves, their children not excepted. During festivals or wedding ceremonies, when cattle are killed and the feast spread, they all enjoy the meat and empty the wine to welcome each other. If the master of the house entertains the guests generously and treats his slaves well, his reputation will spread far and wide and more "subjects" will come to him.

567 431 The fair treatment accorded the slaves is not confined to the distribution of food. All the clothes and ornaments of household slaves are supplied by the master. If a guest gives gifts to the master, he should also give some to the slaves; otherwise, even though the slaves dare not utter any complaint, the master and mistress will show their dissatisfaction on their faces. At all the houses where we stayed overnight during the inspection trip, we always prepared two sets of gifts, one for the master and the other for the slaves, in accordance with Lolo tradition.

564 567 The care and protection given to white Lolo slaves by their black master are not limited to material aspects alone; they also have important psychological bearings. If a white Lolo slave has some trouble, the master would do his best to help. It is clear that by assuming responsibilities for the white Lolo slaves, the black Lolo is able to make the white Lolo obey him voluntarily without reservation. Therefore, up to this time, no white Lolo rebellion against the black Lolo has been reported. Before the inspection team entered Liang Shan, we hired Li-ch'ü Ta-chi as our headman-protector.

564 When we were about to start, Ta-chi ordered his two slaves to
567 buy some sheep at the Su's store in Lei-po city. Unfortunately, the people at the store told them by mistake that the sheep were at the east gate. As these two slaves went there hurriedly in the darkness, the Han-Chinese thought that the Lolo had come to rob; soon a large crowd gathered and gave them a beating. As a result, both slaves were badly mauled. So Ta-chi was unwilling to go with the team and requested to remain at Lei-po to settle the dispute. Consequently, we were delayed for three days. Mr. Wang Yü-an, who was in charge of Lolo affairs, volunteered to settle the dispute with the guarantee that the two slaves would be returned safely to their home after medical treatment. He also strove to persuade Ta-chi to lead the inspection team as previously arranged. However, Ta-chi answered, "I took my slaves from Liang Shan to Lei-po. If I don't take them home and if their mother should ask for them, what could I say?" Brief as his statement is, it clearly indicates his sense of responsibility and an affectionate regard for the slave's welfare.

564 The life and property of the white Lolo are left com-
567 pletely in the hands of the black Lolo. If the household of a
628 white Lolo were attacked, the black Lolo would muster his
571 men to defend it. A feud between one clan and another, often caused by the involvement of some white Lolo slaves, leads to conflict and mutual killing. Sometimes the slaves of clan A seek refuge with clan B [76] which refuses to return them to the owner; sometimes the slaves of clan B are cheated and beaten by members of clan A; at another time, the slaves of the two clans may be embroiled in a dispute. Such incidents often lead to an armed conflict between the two clans. In brief, the black Lolo leaders of each clan consider it their responsibility to protect their white Lolo "subjects" and household slaves.

564 At the same time, the black Lolo has need of the
571 wholehearted support of the white Lolo to weld together the entire clan and to extend its influence externally. Because of the larger population of the white Lolo, their majority opinion is very important. Their influence can eventually determine the rise and fall of a black Lolo leader and the growth or decline of his power. Therefore the class relationship between black and white Lolo is mutual and not one-sided. The black Lolo has a set of responsibilities and obligations to the white; the same is true of the white Lolo's relations to the black.

564 Under the black Lolo's rule, the white Lolo is the
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laboring class. Originally, they were the household slaves of various black Lolo clans; in a number of cases, these household slaves were later promoted to become "subjects." This kind of advancement, however, is achieved not through the use of money and property to gain the freedom of the person, but through a long period of faithful service to the master, thereby gaining his confidence and receiving from him land to establish a household. Then gradually they advance to the "subject" status. This promotion cannot be gained overnight and it usually takes a considerable period of time, sometimes as long as several generations. In Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household, there is a slave by the name of Hu, who was captured in the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919. He has already served his master for more than 20 years and has won his master's confidence. A wife has been given him and she has borne him a child. He now owns a small house near Ta-chi's and farms his own land, but he still comes in to perform service for Ta-chi and to help in the management of household affairs. When the inspection team stayed at San-ho-i-ta, although Ta-chi had many other household slaves, Hu still had many duties to perform, such as killing and skinning sheep, building the fire, and cooking. He was also ordered to take the author to visit the mountain behind the house. Actually, Hu has not yet achieved "subject" status, partly because of his Han-Chinese origin — it is not until the second or third generation when their descendants no longer consider themselves Han-Chinese that the household slaves could become "subjects."

In their potential advancement and demotion as well as in their mobility, household slaves and "subjects" have social positions that are not very much different. [77] In Liang Shan today the "subjects" are the majority. The population is approximately one-tenth black Lolo, two- or three-tenths Han-Chinese slaves, and the rest is all white Lolo. After many generations and long years, the white Lolo "subjects" have their own family names and clans. For example: the Ch'ê-pi white Lolo branch in the Ku-p'eng and P'u-to-i-ta area is quite populous and influential. To the west of I-lu is the Su-chia white Lolo branch, also very prosperous. At Wu-chio west of Lei-po are the white Lolo families of Tu, Ts'ai, Yang, and Po under the rule of the black Lolo Hu Hsing-min. Since the White Lolo have clan names, they marry outside of the clan and their kin relationship is the same as the black Lolo's. Also their clothing, food, housing, modes of travel, customs, traditions, and so on are entirely similar to the black Lolo's.

Sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo

564 sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo
628 masters may become involved in a conflict and eventually start
627 a feud which, once the situation gets beyond control, may lead to an armed fight between two black Lolo clans. On the other hand, whenever the white Lolo under the same black Lolo master have a dispute, the black Lolo would come out to arbitrate and afterwards receive from the white Lolo a present of cattle as an expression of gratitude.

621 In a one-clan village, where there is only one black
564 Lolo leader, the white Lolo are assured of the safety of their lives and property and can serve their master wholeheartedly, but those white Lolo who live outside the village, between two clans, or in some remote area have to serve black Lolo leaders of two or more clans in order to live in peace and quietness without being harmed or destroyed. Besides their own master, these white "subjects" have to submit to the black Lolo of the other branches for added protection. To pay respects to his
[431] other master, the white Lolo offers a pot of wine and a half of a pig's head as presentation gifts in recognition of his new "subject" status; he also contributes wine and food for every New Year festival. Automatically, he discharges all the obligations of a "subject."

[614] The Ch'ê-pi white Lolo branch at Ku-p'eng is subject to the Wu-ch'i branch, but most of its members also serve the headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. At La-li Kou, which is an important pass to and from Liang Shan and a thoroughfare for the various clans, the people are heterogeneous in composition and the place itself is far from being a one-clan village. So the "subjects" there belong at the same time to a number of different black Lolo branches in order to ensure the safety of the community. Thus the relationship between the different clans, as well as the relationship between the black and white Lolo, is by no means simple with well-defined boundaries, but rather complicated, overlapping, and varied according to local developments.

564 In the Lolo territory the Han-Chinese slaves, who form
● 567 a separate class, occupy the lowest position. In a black Lolo family only a small number of white Lolo serve as household slaves, the majority of them being Han-Chinese. The white Lolo could not make slaves of other white Lolo but they could capture or purchase Han-Chinese as slaves, commonly called san-t'an wa-tzu. The white Lolo serve only their black master
[78] whereas the Han-Chinese could also become slaves of white Lolo. The status of Han-Chinese slaves is therefore very inferior.

567 The origin of Han-Chinese slaves can be generally
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567 traced to capture by the Lolo in frontier regions. There are
727 different ways of capturing them: sometimes the Lolo would attack and seize Han-Chinese wayfarers from ambush; sometimes the Lolo would join an assault on a Han-Chinese village during the middle of the night; sometimes they would capture slave members of the opposite side in a clan feud. There were also numerous cases of Han-Chinese who, while on a business trip or engaged in reclamation work, were kidnapped on the way as slaves by the same Lolo who had served as their headmen-protectors but who later staged an act of reverse protection. In April, 1940, more than 200 members of a reclamation community at Man-ch'i K'ou in Lei-po county were captured and taken to the mountain en masse. Among the captives were two Liu brothers, who were high school graduates and who had come to the reclamation area to visit friends. The rebel leader was a black Lolo, Yueh-t'ao, of the Hou-p'u branch at Ta-ku Tui. At that time, the person in charge of the reclamation project was a Mr. Liao, who immediately rushed to the spot upon hearing the news, while at the same time he seized Chiao-hua, a leader of the Shih-t'u branch. As the Shih-t'u and Hou-p'u were on friendly terms, Mr. Liao planned to use Chiao-hua as a hostage to redeem the reclamation workers. Negotiations started between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo. Mr. Liao took with him a hundred or more soldiers whom he deployed on the mountain, while on the opposite side the Lolo also had the same number of soldiers. Mr. Liao and his interpreters were negotiating a settlement when they suddenly heard the noise of shooting. Since fighting had broken out between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo, Mr. Liao and Yüeh-t'ao both rushed back to their respective camps. It happened that Chiao-hua, in an attempt to escape from the Han-Chinese camp, had been shot to death by the Han-Chinese soldiers. So fighting was resumed and all negotiations were broken off. The 200 Han-Chinese reclamation workers were all kept in Liang Shan where they were sold and dispersed in different places to become Lolo slaves. The Liu brothers also were never heard of again.

567 For the Han-Chinese slaves in Lolo territory, whether they are slaves of the black or white Lolo, the master-slave relationship is the same as the relationship between household slaves and their black Lolo masters. The Han-Chinese slaves are considered a part of the master's property. The master can exploit to the maximum the slaves' labor and can also sell
567 or transfer them at any time to other families or clans. The
435 price of a Han-Chinese slave depends upon his age, sex, and

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[435] physical strength. A young and able-bodied person, whether male or female, can fetch quite high a price. For children and old feeble persons, the price is cheaper. Han-Chinese slaves first taken to the Lolo territory are sold over and over again, changing hands several times, before the Lolo master dares keep them for good. Often Han-Chinese slaves from the Lei-po area were sold at Sikang while Han-Chinese slaves from Chao-chüeh were sent to the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area to prevent them from escaping.

There are many Han-Chinese slaves in the Liang Shan region. No matter whether it is a black or white Lolo household, it has at least one or two slaves. After entering the mountain, it is very difficult for Han-Chinese slaves to flee the tiger's mouth as the place is surrounded on all sides by Lolo families, and even if they could escape from one village or clan [79] to another, they would instantly be discovered because of their language and other alien traits and recaptured as slaves for a new household in another village. Therefore, of all the hundred [sic] captured Han-Chinese slaves, not one has escaped. In visiting the Liang Shan area, the author met no less than a hundred Han-Chinese slaves who wore tattered clothes and who toiled everywhere. Sometimes the newly captured slaves could hardly endure the torture. When they saw the inspection team, they wept silently, their faces covered with tears. Some would send a secret message to arrange for ways and means to escape from the tiger's mouth.

In their treatment of Han-Chinese slaves, the Lolo are
567 doubly harsh to the newcomers, who have to work the whole day
177 long without sufficient food and clothing. They suffer a fate worse than that of horses and cattle. Male Han-Chinese slaves are required to keep the t'ien p'u-sa and the female a braid; the male slaves all wear tattered Lolo clothes and from their appearance, they look very much acculturated to Lolo life, but unless they have been in Lolo territory for a long time, they find it difficult to learn the language. After a long period, probably several years in duration, when the master finds a male Han-Chinese slave truly tamed and obedient, he would then purchase for him a female slave, also a Han-Chinese, for
[582] a wife.. Male and female slaves of Han-Chinese stock have to marry each other as there is little intermarriage between Han-Chinese slaves and the white Lolo, who look down upon the Han-Chinese. After marriage the children born into the family automatically become slaves also, their status being predetermined by birth. If they win the master's favor, they may establish, after three or four generations, their own households

567 177 and family units. In time they forget their Han-Chinese ancestry and gradually attain the position of white Lolo subjects. During the author's travels in the Yen-ch'ih Pa and Tso-erh-wo area, he secretly observed three white Lolo families that were Han-Chinese five or six generations ago. They were so deeply acculturated that they did not wish to make known their Han-Chinese origin for fear they would be looked down upon. The author met an old couple who were gathering fuel back of the mountain at San-ho-i-ta. The old man, a Han-Chinese with the surname Hu, had been in the Lolo territory for more than 40 years. His wife, who was captured at Hai-nao Pa and taken to Liang Shan 20 years ago, was given him by his master. With them were two female slaves from another household, one a second generation Han-Chinese and the other of the third generation. The inspection team gave each of them some thread and needles. Pointing to the third generation female slave, the old man said to the author, "She is already a man-tzu [barbarian]; you don't have to give her these articles." From his remark can be seen the process of acculturation of a Han-Chinese slave.

567 There does not seem to be a well-defined rule for the promotion of Han-Chinese slaves to white Lolo "subjects" because of the long time involved in the transition; furthermore, the situation varies with locality. Actually, the distinction between Han-Chinese slaves and white Lolo is not as strict as that between black and white Lolo. Several situations can be cited to illustrate this point: (1) absolutely no white Lolo can be promoted to the black Lolo status, whereas Han-Chinese slaves may some day become white Lolo; (2) although white [582] Lolo and Han-Chinese slaves usually do not intermarry, this interdiction is not strictly enforced as there are cases of white Lolo men openly competing [80] for the hand of a beautiful Han-Chinese girl; (3) besides his master, a Han-Chinese slave has no obligation to serve other white Lolo and thus has about the same social position as they do, unlike a white Lolo who has to act humbly and assume a subordinate position in front of any black Lolo.

Usually it is difficult for a Han-Chinese slave to leave Lolo territory, but if his relatives in the Han-Chinese area can locate him and discover his master's branch, his family can try to ransom him by negotiating the fee through a middleman. The following example will serve to show the circumstances relating to the redemption of Han-Chinese slaves.

567 116 At the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919, Wang Wen-ying, secretary to the commander of the P'u-an military camp, was

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115 killed on the spot when the city fell into Lolo hands. Before his death, he tried to use a knotted rope to hang his second son, who was at that time only seven years old, but the boy did not die. The Lolo took him down from the rope and carried him away. At first he stayed with the Lu family, a black Lolo at Ta-ku Tui, and was given the name T'ieh-ha and the job of tending the pigs. The eldest son of Wen-ying is no other than Mr. Wang Yü-an, who is now in charge of Lolo affairs at Lei-po. Only 14 years old at that time, he was working in the Lei-po county office. After hearing the bad news, he strongly urged Leng Hsün-nan to send forth troops to recapture his younger brother. The Lu family, fearing an assault by Han-Chinese soldiers, asked their relative and friend, Li-pieh Ch'ü-p'u, to take T'ieh-ha to Ta-liang Shan to be resold. On their way through En-cha-wa-hsi and about a hundred li southwestward, they reached Pu-shih-ko village where T'ieh-ha was sold as a slave to the family of a white Lolo named Ti-meng-chih for the price of 50 ounches of silver. As T'ieh-ha was originally the slave of a black Lolo, Ti-meng-chih now changed his name to T'ieh-la to denote a social status below that of the white Lolo. T'ieh-la's duty in Ti-meng-chih's household was to herd sheep. For a long time, Yü-an did not know the whereabouts of his brother. In 1927 he met A-cho Tso-tu who was employed as a messenger at Lei-po. Yü-an gave him 70 ounces of silver to go to Liang Shan to seek his brother. When Tso-tu came to Pu-shih-ko, he announced that he had brought only 30 ounces of silver to redeem T'ieh-la, but Ti-meng-chih would not release the boy at that price. Then Tso-tu returned to inform Yü-an that T'ieh-la had died. After that, Yü-an gave up hope of searching for his younger brother.

In 1930, when T'ieh-la was 18 years old, he learned from the newly-arrived Han-Chinese slaves that his elder brother Yü-an was in charge of a grade school at T'ien-ku-mi. He sent several messages, both oral and written, but received no answer. In 1939, he heard again that Yü-an had been transferred to Wu-chio to manage a provincial grade school. T'ien-la begged A-cho Chin-ha, a black Lolo, to try to communicate with his elder brother; Chin-ha agreed. During his spare time after sheep herding, by serving as a middleman in business transactions, T'ieh-la had won the favor of many black Lolo, one of whom was Chih-ha. The latter secretly asked T'ieh-la to write a letter which he delivered at Wu-chio through a white Lolo slave. Nine days later they received an answer from Yü-an who then asked Po Ts'an-yung, a white Lolo at Ma-liu Wan, to go to Pu-shih-ko to negotiate.

567 115 The ransom was settled at 100 ounces of silver. By that time, Ti-meng-chih had died and Ti-ku-ko, his son, had inherited T'ieh-la. So Po Ts'an-yung left a nine-shot gun (also worth 100 ounces of silver) as a [81] surety and took Ti-ku-ku and T'ieh-la with him to Ma-liu Wan for the exchange. Yü-an was carried to the village from Lei-po in a chair of bamboo poles and was dressed in full Han-Chinese regalia. Seeing this, Ti-ku-ku thought mistakenly that Yü-an was rich, so he broke his promise and demanded instead 600 ounces. The negotiations dragged on several times without result. For 20 years the Wang brothers were able to meet for one brief moment and then they had to part again.

All this happened in June, 1939. Afterwards, on several occasions Yü-an asked his Lolo friends to go to Liang Shan to smuggle out T'ieh-la, but none succeeded. Finally in December of the same year, the brothers Ni-weng and Shih-chüeh of the A-cho branch, good friends of Yü-an, volunteered to help. Ti-ku-ku was originally a "subject" of the Li-pieh branch which had kinship relations with the A-cho branch. Therefore the A-cho brothers were able to conclude the negotiations in a day. Immediately after Ni-weng had handed to Ti-ku-ku 100 ounces of silver, he took T'ieh-la away to meet his elder brother, Yü-an. This ended the 20 years of T'ieh-la's slavery. He was no other than Mr. Wang Chü-sung, the interpreter of the inspection team.

628 because of disagreement over the peace terms. This time when Wang Chü-sung entered Liang Shan as an interpreter, he inquired about this clan feud between Li-pieh and Wu-ch'i, and was told that they still continued their armed fight without having reached any peaceful solution.

628 The main cause of clan feud is usually manslaughter.
567 As the incident gradually becomes enlarged, it leads eventu-
578 ally to interclan revenge and killing. Disputes involving slaves are another important factor in clan feuds. Sometimes a slave would flee from one clan branch to surrender himself to another, thus stirring up hostility between the two. At other times, a feud may arise from the efforts of the black Lolo master to come forward to protect his slaves who are being insulted or tortured by the members of some other clan. As the white Lolo are quite numerous in each clan and their affairs rather complicated, their frequent contact with outside clans would inevitably embroil them in quarrels that, once they become serious, could result in interclan armed fighting, with the black Lolo masters playing the role of protectors for the slaves of their own clan.

578 At Ma-liu Wan village, for instance, the Lolo chief, Li-
567 ch'ü Ta-i, made an enemy of Yang Tai-ti, daughter of the late
648 Yang T'u-szu, on account of his slave, Po Ts'an-k'ai. Formerly Ta-i's slave, Po escaped to Lei-po and surrendered himself as a slave to the household of [84] Yang Tai-ti, where his mother was once Tai-ti's wet nurse. During the spring of 1943, Ta-i met Ts'an-k'ai at Lei-po city and admonished him to return to Ma-liu Wan. Po, however, secretly leagued himself with some military personnel and had Ta-i arrested and taken to a military camp, where he was tied on a beam and beaten. Ta-i asked someone to intercede for him and spent 50 ounces of silver for ransom. So Ta-i cherished a deep hatred for Po and was anxious for an opportunity to revenge. Repeatedly he sent messages to Tai-ti, accusing Po of having deceived him and demanding Po's surrender. At that time Yang Tai-ti was studying abroad and did not know about the incident. The steward of Yang's household, considering himself a former employer of Yang T'u-szu, paid no attention to Ta-i's demand. One day in early summer, when Tai-ti returned to Lei-po, Ta-i dispatched his men to Wang-shen P'o north of the city to cut down all the corn there because the land belonged to the Yang household and its tenant farmer, the slave Su, was a steward of the family. The county magistrate, Li K'ai-ti, was only newly appointed to his office. Upon hearing suddenly that a band of Lolo had come to destroy the corn,

578 he suspected a Lolo riot and immediately sent an officer in
567 charge of Lolo affairs to make inquiries and take action ac-
648 cordingly. This incident occurred before the inspection team got to Lei-po.

563 The Lolo treat the Han-Chinese under their protection
628 as they treat the white Lolo slaves. At Huan-kou village in Hsiao-liang Shan were some ten Han-Chinese families who had put themselves under the protection of the Mo-shih branch. Among them was the family of Ch'en Yu-lun. About three or four years ago, some black Lolo from Ta-liang Shan attacked the Ch'en family and carried away the Ch'en couple with their boy and girl, a total of four persons, and two guns. The black Lolo of Ta-liang Shan asserted that because of a false accusation by Ch'en Yu-lun's master, Mo-shih Tso-t'i, he had been imprisoned at Lei-po and was not released until he had paid a ransom of 50 ounces of silver. This time he captured the entire Ch'en family to avenge his betrayal by Tso-t'i. Later, Ch'en Yu-lun escaped from Ta-liang Shan. Since Tso-t'i was studying at that time at a military academy in Ch'eng-tu, Ch'en complained to Tso-t'i's mother, explaining to her all that had happened. Tso-t'i's mother discussed the matter with Wu-ch'i K'e-ku, who belonged to a kin clan of one of the influential Lolo leaders of the Mo-shih branch, and sought his help as a mediator. K'e-ku went to Ta-liang Shan and arranged for the ransom of Ch'en Yu-lun's wife and son, the daughter having already died, at a cost of 80 ounces of silver. First, K'e-ku marked out a portion of his own land in the Liang Shan area as a guarantee. After the return of Ch'en's wife and son to Huan-kou, Ch'en Yu-lun, since he had no cash on hand, transferred to K'e-ku his own land and property worth 80 ounces of silver. But still, the whole dispute has not been completely settled. Ch'en Yu-lun had an oral message delivered to Tso-t'i at Ch'eng-tu, asking him to come back to Lei-po to take personal charge of the affair; if Tso-t'i had not actually accused the black Lolo, as was charged, then the entire Mo-shih branch would raise an army of revenge to punish the ringleader.

628 The reasons for starting a clan feud cannot be dis-
578 cussed in detail here, but the foregoing examples give some idea of its main features. Because of conjugal relations, the Lolo women constitute a binding force for different clans or branches, but sometimes they also create problems that may become one of the important factors of clan feud. On account of [85] ill-treatment by the husband's family, a married woman often escapes to her own family to make

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721 The hillman keeps up his reputation for ruthlessness and fierce savagery by these sudden and murderous raids. By not making them too frequent, the Chinese officials have been kept from making really earnest attempts to conquer, once for all, this almost independent country right in the heart of their possessions. After each raid the murderers make preparations for another raid, which does not immediately come off. In addition to military preparations, the old-time much-used practice of buying off an enemy is brought 648 into play. Subsidies are paid to the heads of the wildmen 721 to keep them quiet. Thus there is the peculiarity of these hill tribes sending tribute to the Central Government, while the officials representing that Government pay an even larger subsidy or tribute to the same people. In this strange book-keeping, the balance is usually on the side of the hillmen. After a while, however, the vigilance of the officials relaxes, and as all seems quiet these representatives of the Government think there is no necessity to pay all the coin sent them from headquarters, and so subsidies become irregular. This does not suit the hillmen, who know only too well how to alter this state of affairs. Their action corresponds to the • [567] mutiny of Chinese soldiers whose pay is in arrears. A new raid takes place, and by sudden swift action some unsuspecting inland village is ruthlessly destroyed and some of the captives are in the land of slavery before the inert, careless, covetous officials can move. Then the old programme is begun all over again.

721 Knowing that they are never absolutely free from the fear of these disastrous raids, the people have taken steps for their own protection. The many limestone caves abounding in the north of the province of Yunnan, are kept in a more or

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vigorous shouting and cursing can the dogs be kept from attacking the stranger; and they always seem to resent the interference on the part of the landlord with the stick, as if they were unjustly, and in an unsportsmanlike manner, being deprived of their legitimate prey. The landlord who gave us the savoury dish eaten with the porcupine quill had ten dogs, and they were fierce brutes all of them. They tried their best to get at me, and I moved about in great fear of a sudden rear attack. In addition to the dogs our host had one hundred sheep, twenty cows, ten horses, twenty pigs, forty fowls, and was worth about two thousand ounces of silver. In his household at the time of our visit he had six male and seven female slaves.

When we arrived at Mr Long's home we had a very warm welcome, and were soon very comfortably settled in a room specially built for guests. Some of these aboriginal chiefs know well how to make guests feel at home. It happened to be the month of the second Mrs Long, and to her fell the care of the guests. I have never known a lady, in England or China, who knows better how to care for guests. From early morn till late at night, she and her servants see that guests want for nothing, and he must be a very churl who cannot respond to such Oriental kindness.

After supper we sat around a large charcoal fire and told yarns. Mr Long said Chinese and Nosu were like goats and sheep. No sooner are the Chinese bullied than they begin to cry out like goats, and to call the attention of all the world to their troubles. The Nosu, he said, were like sheep, you may even kill them, and they will remain quiet while you do so. I should like to hear what the Chinese would say in reference to this comparison. I remember passing a

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CHAPTER XIII

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

WE noticed while in Nosuland that every household with which we stayed possessed slaves or retainers. On inquiry we found out that this unknown part of China possesses the feudal system in its entirety. At the head are the Earth Eyes, or Earth Controllers, corresponding to the Chief Barons in the European Feudal System. Next to these come the Black Nosu, often erroneously called the Black Bones. It would be more correct to call them Black Bloods. Lower than these are the White Nosu, also erroneously named White Bones. Then follow on the slaves, who are usually, but not always, white Nosu who have not gained their freedom.

In the matter of intermarriage among these three classes the caste system is very rigidly preserved, intermarriage being practically unknown, and any approach to it being severely frowned upon. I had a letter a few years ago from an Earth Eye, asking if I could help him in a difficulty. He had married a wife or two, and had had no children. On the death of his proper wives he became very fond of a slave girl, and took her to live with him. When, later on, a son was born, he wanted to make the slave girl his proper wife. Then there was a storm among the relatives. He might keep up an irregular union as long as he liked, but such a thing as a legitimate marriage with this low-caste woman, which would have made the offspring heirs to the estates, was not to be entertained for a

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564 moment. The Earth Eye begged my assistance, thinking
567 that if he became a Christian he would be able to keep his slave wife as his real wife. If I would help him to do this, and also allow him to continue to worship the family gods, he was willing to join the Church. The letter was quite a piteous appeal. I went to see him later on, and saw the slave wife. But of course there was no joining the Church on the terms laid down. Not long after the relatives got hold of the slave, beat her cruelly, and then flung her into a deep pit, where the wounded girl died an awful death. The Earth Eye was nearly frantic, and searched all about for her, but he did not discover her until too late. He nearly broke his heart over the loss of the girl, for whom he had a strong love.

564 The majority of the land on which the Nosu live, whether
648 in independent Nosuland or in the provinces of Yunnan and
425 Kweichow, is in the hands of the Earth Eyes. Where they have properly submitted to the Chinese Government, these Earth Eyes pay the usual land tax to the local mandarins. The paying of this land tax has been a boon to many of these Earth Eyes. When the Chinese Government first appointed officials over the districts where the Nosu owned the land there was the difficulty of the language. Many of the Black Bloods knew nothing of Chinese, and were very nervous about meeting the officials on the occasion of tax-paying. Some of the Earth Eyes set to work to study Chinese and became quite familiar with the ways of the officials' yamens. When they had reached this point they generously offered the Black Bloods their assistance. The latter were only too thankful to agree. The Earth Eyes then paid the taxes for the others, and as an acknowledgment of this kindness a gift of a goat or a sheep was made at the time of the tax-paying.

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564 sometimes to loss of life. The Black Bloods in return for
701 their lands must put their lives and services at the disposal of the overlords, who sometimes rule them with a rod of iron. I know one Black Blood who dare not ride a horse in the district where he lives because the overlord has forbidden that privilege to Nosu of the second rank. When talking to me about the affairs in his neighbourhood the Black Blood saved his face by ascribing his not riding a horse to some other reason, but I found out the true reason why he always walked.
[231] I know it was a real deprivation, because to a Nosu a horse is almost as necessary as to an Arab of the desert.

[567] Nearly all the Earth Eyes and Black Bloods keep a number
564 of White Blood retainers, some of whom are slaves, with their
631 property, persons and family at the absolute disposal of their masters. These retainers again have portions of land assigned to them, and pay for this land in personal service. They also have to hold themselves in readiness to respond to their lord's call, and to fight for him and even lay down their
567 lives if so commanded. I visited some of the slaves' homes,
726 and saw, hung on the wall of each house, weapons and a bag
202 of oatmeal. In the bag are also a thin copper basin and a spoon. The weapons must always be in readiness and the bag full. Whenever there is trouble or the overlord needs help in fighting the ram's horn is blown from the lord's castle or residence, and as soon as the warning sound is heard the retainer seizes his bag of oatmeal, ties it over his shoulder, takes his weapons in his hands and hastens to the sound of the ram's horn. It is astonishing how far the sound of these horns carry. In some places the aborigines who have become Christians call their companions to worship by the blowing of one of these horns. The hole is not at the end of the horn,

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but at the side. Some of the boys who blow these horns can make the sound travel a long distance.

In a very short time after the blowing of the horn at the lord's residence there is gathered together a band of men all armed and provisioned for four or five days. As most of the fighting takes place near home, or at most but two or three days' journey away, the bag of oatmeal is quite sufficient for a sudden raid or for defence against such a raid.

In addition to military service, the retainers have to help farm the overlord's personal land, ploughing, sowing, hoeing, reaping and harvesting. They also have to provide so much firewood each year, also so many pigs, sheep and fowls for the lord's table. If the latter is a man who has many guests, then the demands for his table are many and a constant strain on his retainers. Besides the retainers who live on the land there are a certain number who are household servants or slaves, and these have to be near the lord and lady on all occasions. If their master is kind and generous, then their lot is fairly comfortable, and many of them would not have their freedom if it meant their leaving. I have known some of them refuse to be wholly free because in that case they would be liable to attack at any time with no one to defend them. The lord is supposed to take up the quarrels of his men and to fight for them if he considers their cause is just. They can appeal to him at any time, and so a quarrel between the slaves of two Earth Eyes often leads to a big quarrel between the overlords. 567

Sometimes the lords will compound the duties of their retainers and slaves for a sum of money. So much will purchase their freedom from the duty of farming their lord's land, so much for supplying his fuel or his table, but I have never

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heard that any sum of money will compound for military service. Of course if the slaves purchase their entire freedom and leave the clan the lord has no claim whatever on their services. Not many prefer to do this; they all like to have some claim on the central authority.

When the slaves are old enough to marry they are mated by their lords or mistresses. In many cases attention is paid to preference shown by the interested parties. The offspring of such marriages become the slaves of the overlord and are at his disposal. I do not find that slaves are often sold out of the clan, but in the case of the marriage of the daughter of an Earth Eye or a Black Blood several slaves are sent with her as part of her dowry. In accordance with a similar custom Leah and Rachel took their slaves with them into Jacob's family. These dowry slave girls are married later on in the clan which the daughter enters. Sometimes these waiting-maids serve tyrants of mistresses. One such maid came to me one day, carrying her child, an infant in arms. She had said something in the hearing of another servant which was not very complimentary to the beauty of her mistress. Gossip and intrigue for favour exist in these Nosu households as well as in other households nearer the West, and so the mistress got to hear of the uncomplimentary remark of her maid. The mistress got into a fury, sent for the offender, and with a red-hot iron seared her face so as to spoil her beauty for ever. In her fit of passion she burnt the face of the little child as well. This was but mild compared to some of the punishments the lords and their ladies inflict on the slaves who offend them. I have heard of some cases details of which one cannot print in any book published in Christendom.

Now and again slaves run away, and then there is raised

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the hue and cry. There is a saying that a master will seek his runaway slave even if he has to go through all the nine districts of the Empire. I know one Earth Eye whose slave ran away, leaving his wife, whom he was fond of, behind. The master knew how the runaway liked his wife, and reckoned on his returning to get her away also. So he said nothing, but waited. True to these calculations, the slave returned home one night. Some traitor gave the alarm, and the runaway was captured. The next morning the Earth Eye led the slave outside of the castle to a grassy mound near by. Here the lord compelled the offender to kneel down, and with his own long sword cut his head off. This was a warning to his other slaves. There was no redress in this case, nor in any similar case. It is interesting to note that some time after another slave of this same overlord won the affections of his master's young daughter and eloped with her. The girl was recaptured but the slave escaped.

Over and above all the services rendered by the retainers which have been mentioned, the vassals have to make money payments on certain occasions which are specified, and on as many other occasions as the overlord is powerful enough to enforce. Such occasions are the marriages, deaths and burials of any members of the lord's family. The levies put on the retainers and slaves at such times are not heavy, but the fact of their having no fixed rate makes the impost a source of constant friction.

When one lord dies, and the heir succeeds to the estates, there is usually trouble all round. The trouble is caused by the custom of what is termed "changing tenancies." Every tenant or vassal has to renew his tenancy of land from the new lord. This is often made the excuse for raising of rents

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left, and wherever he found enemies he destroyed them. 622
It is estimated that he murdered at least two hundred people, 628
and in order to destroy all traces of his crimes he burnt the corpses of those whom he killed. No wonder that he dreads the working of the law of revenge, which is so powerful in all districts where Nosu dwell. One long struggle he had was with another Earth Eye by the name of An (Peace). There was a piece of land in dispute which both claimed, and they had several fights over the matter, in which retainers on both sides lost their lives. At last a Chinese mandarin, with the usual eye to the main chance, persuaded the two men to bring the case to his court, where he promised to decide it justly. The two Earth Eyes agreed. Knowing something about the ways of Chinese justice, Mr An paid in eight hundred ounces of silver to the official. Lo-chee was duly informed of this, and he offered the same. An then went up to a thousand, and was followed by the other. Then An increased his promise to twelve hundred, and the case was decided in his favour by this auctioneer of a mandarin. An, however, only paid down a thousand, and so the Chinese official left the case open for reconsideration. What he evidently expected happened, and Lo-chee promptly trumped the cards of his opponent by a still bigger bribe. He, of course, found that he had justice on his side, and the disputed land was awarded to him. Mr An, however, refused to take any notice of the decision, and the law took no steps to enforce its findings. Things, therefore, remained as they were, except that somebody's pocket was considerably heavier.

While this official was trying the case and emptying the 567
money bags of the two Earth Eyes, his son called on Lo-chee, and seeing that he had a large number of slave girls in

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/For information on the class distinction often referred to as slavery, see Cat. 565, pp. 19-24./

which account partly for its persistence up to the present time. Recently many people have advocated liberating the Pê-I (Wa-tzu) or inciting them to revolt against the Heh-I, but they do not know that the majority of the Wa-tzu are quite content with their lot and do not desire change. (The Chinese captives reduced to the status of Wa-tzu are of course an exception.) Not only is it impossible to incite the Wa-tzu to revolt; it is even difficult to persuade them to escape from the I region and the Heh-I's rule. Naturally they are not to be blamed, for although they are slaves under the present system, at least their livelihood is not a problem. But if they should escape into unsympathetic societies where no one would have concern for them, they will immediately face the difficult problem of food and survival. To speak of liberty with an empty stomach is never easy. In order to rehabilitate the I region successfully, it is necessary to devise a suitable economic and social system to replace the present Wa-tzu system. Empty talk will not only fail to ameliorate the living conditions of the I people but might even increase their sufferings.

There are also distinctions of rank among the Wa-tzu of Liang-shan. The talented and capable Wa-tzu, or those who have been closely connected with the master's family for generations, are likely to be promoted by their Heh-I masters to household management. These are called "tang-chia /steward/ Wa-tzu." In each family, there is one of them who holds a higher position than the rest and may be considered as their leader. He usually lives in his master's house. If his duties include the preparation of meals and cooking, then he is called "kuo-chuang Wa-tzu." When the responsibilities of management and cooking are divided between two persons, the position of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu is lower than that of the tang-chia Wa-tzu, but /113/ higher than that of the ordinary Wa-tzu, for he is still regarded as one trusted by the master. Due to their higher intelligence, the Chinese captives are often promoted to tang-chia Wa-tzu or kuo-chuang Wa-tzu in a few years. The Heh-I's Wa-tzu (the so-called "Pê-I) often attempt to capture some Chinese as their own Wa-tzu. These Wa-tzu's Wa-tzu naturally hold a still lower position and are therefore called "san-t'an Wa-tzu," meaning a third class Wa-tzu.

The wealth of a Heh-I is generally determined by the number of Wa-tzu under his control. He can have as many as three or four hundred at a time. Naturally in the Lolo society where civilization is still in an extraordinarily primitive stage, land development and an increase in food production are mainly dependent on human labor.

565 This accounts for the perpetual need of additional Wa-tzu by the I of
567 Liang-shan. For hundreds of years, there has always been in this region a hereditary Wa-tzu class. But since its population has remained sparse and the fertility of its soil is low, the only method of increasing the number of Wa-tzu is to capture men and women of other racial groups. In this case all the captives happen to be Chinese, who are the only people living in the surrounding areas. This practice of the I is still being perpetuated today in full force. Some state that the total number of Chinese captives has already reached several tens of thousands (although this figure may be highly exaggerated) and that a considerable number are still being captured at the present time. According to their distribution by the hsien, the largest number of captives are taken from Lei-po, and next from Yung-shan in Yünnan province, captives are also taken from Ma-pien, O-pien, Yüeh-sui, Hsi-ch'ang and others. The general practice of the I is first to separate the captives of the same family or village and to dispatch them to different districts to prevent their joining forces and escaping together. The captor is their first master who may then sell his newly acquired Wa-tzu for silver. After these Wa-tzu have been carried around and sold repeatedly--sometimes throughout the entire region of Liang-shan, having been captured at Lei-po and ending up in Hsi-ch'ang--there would be no means of escape. The family may attempt through a middleman to ransom a captive if it knows his or her whereabouts. In these transactions the I's only concern is silver, and the ransom exacted is always dozens of times higher than the market price at Liang-shan.

584 Strange to say, features of both the Orient and the Occident
591 may be found in the Liang-shan society. As in the West, a son, after his marriage, establishes his own family apart from his parents; as in the East, the family organization is patriarchal, and the parents who are despotic select mates for their sons and daughters. This selection is based on the principle of a suitable alliance in respect to property and wealth--a form of commercial marriage, /114/ typical of an Oriental society. The bride's family usually demands a large settlement in proportion to her own family's wealth. Therefore when an I takes a bride he may be obliged to spend his entire savings and even to go into debt his entire life. For this reason many people cannot
587 marry at all. One of the results is the development of the system of "wife transference" whereby "a younger brother marries his sister-in-law at the death of his elder brother." Although this practice seems

484 his protégés as Wa-tzu after they have entered the I region. For this kind of intrigue (protection and then sale), there is a special term
567 known as "chuang t'ung-tzu" /to load a barrel/. A considerable number of Chinese merchants going into Liang-shan have undergone this experience as we discovered through our conversations with the Wa-tzu of Chinese origin in our recent trip through Liang-shan. The Wu-ch'i chia in Lei-po hsien /132/ are particularly fond of this ruse. On the whole, the I are rather tactful in their dealings: in general, they dare not touch the officials but they have no qualms in humbugging the merchants. For the latter who think only of profit, this is a very good lesson. Quite a few opium merchants thought they could make easy money in Liang-shan, but just as they were about to leave the place with bags full of money, they were carried away to become Wa-tzu, never again to return to their native land. This is certainly a most remarkable retribution.

Once a Chinese has been captured in Liang-shan, the chances for his escape are very slight. Even ransom is difficult. He does not remain as Wa-tzu at one definite place, but is sold as merchandise wherever there is profit, until finally even he himself does not know where he is. In these repeated sales, there are innumerable cases in which a native of Lei-po is carried all the way to Hsi-ch'ang and a native of Hsi-ch'ang to Ma-pien. In the case of a whole family of Chinese captives, the I cause much sorrow by separating wife, husband and children, so that they would never see each other again. The I hope thus to prevent the captives from joining forces and escaping together. With this system in force, very few of the Chinese captives can ever hope to return. Resistance will lead to killing, and submission to slavery, old age and death in the I region. Whoever goes to Liang-shan can often meet those Chinese who have been forced to become Wa-tzu in the I region for dozens of years. No wonder the Chinese living near its borders fear going there.

485 The hardships of traveling are another difficulty one encounters in a field trip to Liang-shan. At present the standard of living of an average Chinese is not high, but when compared to that of the I of Liang-shan, the difference between them is like that between the sky and sea, and may be measured by centuries. While traveling, we had no place to eat at noon and no bed to sleep on at night except the ground at the home of some impoverished I family. Thus muddy ground often serves as bed, buckwheat buns as food, and the most unsanitary unboiled water as drink. There is no boiled water or tea. Salt lumps